1:Franken et al M, G-5 (ca. 1913-1948)1960
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situation it will of course be necessary to wait until the next census.

3

Race, Origin, Language

The Balinese, like the large majority of the other inhabitants of Indonesia, are classified as Malays, who are usually included in the Palaeo-Mongolid sub-race.[8] In the sub-division into Early and Late Malays the Balinese belong to the latter group.

The ancestors of the Indonesians must originally have lived in what is now Yunan, in southwest China. Around 2000 B.C. they began to trek southwards from the mountains to the coast of Farther India, and roughly five hundred years later crossed over to Sumatra, Java, Borneo, Celebes, Bali, and to the other islands. When they settled on Bali is not known with any precision.[9]

The present-day languages of Indonesia are cognate, and together constitute the Indonesian language family. Inside that family there are several groups of more closely related languages. Balinese, together with the Sasakese of Lombok and the Sumbawanese of western Sumbawa, constitutes one such group.[10] In structure and syntax, then, it is more closely related to those languages than to Javanese. In the course of history,[11] however, Old Javanese (and, either directly or *via* Old Javanese, Sanskrit)[12] has had a great influence on the Balinese vocabulary, as regards not only terms for cultural elements borrowed, but also everyday terms. Hence the position of Balinese in the Indonesian language family is comparable to that of English in the Indo-Germanic family. English, too, is very closely related to the languages of one group, the Germanic, but in the course of history has been strongly influenced by Latin and French, two languages of another group, the Italic.

Balinese also has in common with Javanese its use of the so-called 'vocabularies of courtesy'.[13] The Balinese determines his choice of words according to the social relation between the

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person he is speaking to or speaking about and himself. Hence in Balinese one has to cope with three special vocabularies within the language, each of which includes some hundreds of words. One employs the ordinary, common language when speaking with intimates, equals, or inferiors; polite terms must be used as soon as one begins to speak to one's superiors or to strangers; and 'deferential' terms are obligatory in all cases when one is so bold as to speak of parts of the body or of the acts, possessions, or qualities of important people. The Balinese sum up the last two vocabularies under the term *alus* ('fine' or 'noble'). Naturally these two are intermingled, since the person to whom one speaks politely has the right to make use of deferential terms for everything concerning his own sphere of thought, action, and being.

Thus in Balinese one encounters many doublets and triplets which are almost synonymous, but different in degree of deference, politeness, or familiarity. One who speaks familiarly to an important person or uses colloquial terms concerning a superior is guilty of rudeness. Such rudeness could lead in some cases to an indictment in court, since the use of the deferential vocabulary is closely related to caste prerogatives. One who uses the deferential terms to his equals or inferiors is naturally not punishable, but his speech is regarded as ridiculous. Nor does one use the deferential terms in speaking of oneself. That would be the extreme of arrogance.

4

Balinese Agriculture

Bali is renowned for its *sawahs*, its irrigated ricefields. And even where wet-rice cultivation is impossible, it is a predominantly agricultural land. In 1930 seventy-five out of every hundred persons gainfully employed were in agriculture, which there almost without exception follows the indigenous Indonesian pattern. There are foreign-owned plantations only in Jĕmbrana and the part of Buleleng to the west of Pulaki; the total area of such plantation lands amounted to some 6,800 acres in 1954.

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Most markets have a
443 little shrine for the goddess of fertility and of gardens, Dewi
[778] Melanting, also the deity of the market, to whom the vendors make small offerings for good luck.

THE SOCIAL ORDER

564 It was surprising to discover the extent to which the question of
576 rank obsesses so simple and democratic a people as the Balinese. In our house every time Gusti came near, everyone scrambled down the veranda steps to place themselves at a level lower than his. Once in Ubud we received a visit from two little girls, high-caste dancers of ten. They were to spend the night in the house, but they would not sleep unchaperoned and a servant was appointed to watch over them; when they heard he was to sleep in the attic, twenty feet up, they snatched their pillows and ran upstairs, not to be defiled a second longer by an inferior located above them. They perferred to sleep on a hard bench rather than in the bed made for them, while the poor servant had to sleep on the floor. Once we visited a high priest, who invited us to remain for lunch; when the food came he apologized for having to ask us to sit down, because, he said, " the gods would not like it " if he, a Brahmana, placed himself at a level lower than ours. We observed similar situations over and over again among people of all classes.

Five centuries of feudal domination by an aristocracy have made the Balinese so conscious of caste, the determination of a man's place in society by his birth, that the whole of their social life and etiquette is moulded by this institution. A member of the aristocracy is constantly on the look-out so that his inferiors may keep to their appointed level and address him in the language of respect. Princes still demand the adulation and kowtowing of their former vassals, although now their power has ended and their prestige is greatly diminished. Caste rules today are largely restricted to the observance of established formulas of etiquette even among the princes, who were always fairly liberal. Caste
[171] relations are relaxed and simple compared with the absurd intoler-
ance of India.

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ance of India. But the common people take for granted the divine superiority of the aristocracy and are so thoroughly accustomed to arrogance that they submit to the demands of caste etiquette as a matter of duty.

By far the most strict of social taboos is that on intermarriage. A man may marry any woman he wishes as long as she is of equal or lower caste, but under no circumstances may a low-caste man marry a woman of a higher class. For such a man even to have relations with a woman of the royal or priestly castes was a crime punished in olden times by the death of both; the woman perhaps stabbed by a member of her disgraced family, the man thrown into the sea in a weighted sack, the most degrading of deaths. Today punishment is simply exile of the guilty couple to the wilds of Djembrana or the little penal island of Nusa Penida. But like everything else in Bali, special concessions can be made if the difference of castes is not very great and the man is influential; in some cases the affair has been settled by fines, annulment of the marriage, or a special edict raising the man's caste.

ETIQUETTE

Despite strict caste regulations, the code of etiquette is simple and reasonable; a general air of frankness and friendliness prevails in daily intercourse, and it is only in the presence of an arrogant prince that the common man has to humiliate himself; even more polite treatment is given to a high priest. From the beginning a stranger is struck by the extreme politeness and gentle manners, even in the lower classes. The strongest criticism that can be made of a person is that he has no manners. Such a freak should be avoided.

One is greeted on the road with the words: "*Lungga kidja*, Where to?" and a visitor is welcomed with: "*Wau rauh*, Just arrived." These are formulas not to be taken in their literal sense. A visitor takes leave by asking to be excused: "*Tiang pamit*," the answer to which is simply "Yes," "*Ingé*." There are no other words for greeting or for good-bye. It is not polite to answer a

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576 question with monosyllables, and one should not point with the index finger. It is better to use the words for the cardinal points to indicate direction, but if one must point, it should be done with the thumb, holding the rest of the hand closed.

574 431 The Balinese are constantly paying visits to one another, but no one would dream of making a formal visit without bringing along a gift of some sort: fruit, rice, eggs, or chickens, given casually and received without a word of thanks. It is taken for granted that the present is appreciated by the acceptance of it, but if one wants to be over-polite, one says: "*Tiang nunás*, I want it" or "I like it" (*idéh* in the common language). An object is handed with the right hand while touching the elbow with the left, and it is received with the same gesture.

431 123 The gift-problem became acute for us as we entered into a competition with our friends and neighbours for more and more valuable presents. Someone would arrive with a basket of eggs or rice; we repaid the visit taking a cheap head-cloth. On the next visit they came with piles of fruit and even live chickens, so we had to rush to the market to buy a batik shirt or a bottle of Javanese perfume. We generally ended by exchanging brocades, krisses, and so forth for pieces of silk, flashlights, and fountain pens. The Balinese are very much concerned with the price paid [435] for an object, and they always insisted on knowing what we paid for a present, until we realized that it was a great mistake to remove the price tags. When we bought new glasses or new plates, Dog, our house-boy, washed them carefully around the label so as not to rub off the price.

574 It is necessary to be properly dressed to pay or to receive a visit. [292] The breasts of men and women should be covered by a special breast-cloth, a *saput* for men and a *selendang* for women. People in the house always dashed for their breast-cloth, usually an ordinary foreign towel, when a special guest arrived. Immediately the visitor was provided with green coconuts to quench his [177] thirst, with cigarettes and betel-nut. Up-to-date Balinese like to offer soda-pop, coffee and Chinese pastries. The chewing of

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The chewing of 49
betel-nut is the first gesture of hospitality and the main social 574
pastime of the entire archipelago. To chew betel, a piece of the 276
green nut of the betel palm is dabbed with a little lime, wrapped in pepper leaves, *sirih*, and the whole chewed together with a large wad of shredded tobacco that is held under a monstrously protruding lower lip. The combination of betel, *sirih*, and lime produces an abundant flow of saliva, red as blood, and the betel addict spits constantly, leaving crimson splotches wherever he goes. After certain guests departed, our house-boy always had to wash the veranda steps because they looked as if a murder had been committed on them. Today betel-chewing is not favoured 276
by the younger generation, not only because it looks so disagree- [178]
able, but because it spoils the teeth. The older the person, the fonder he is of betel, and the ingredients are always kept on hand in boxes with little compartments or in special satchels of woven pandanus. Old men without teeth have a special bamboo tube [886]
with an iron rod to mash the various ingredients together. The *sirih*, betel, and lime are presented to guests in little ready-made [431]
packages often beautifully decorated with streamers of delicately cut-out palm-leaf. They are called *tjanang* or *baséh*, a gift.

A host must act as servant to his guests, himself attending to 574
their comfort and not partaking of the refreshments. Meals are 264
also served by the host, even if he has servants and assistants, and he can eat only after the guests have finished. If the visitors come from another village, they are expected to stay for the night and even for days at a time. The place of honour in the house is then assigned to them. After a reasonable period of time the visit is repaid and the presents reciprocated.

Very strict are the rules between men and women. On public 562
occasions men and women keep to themselves in separate groups, 576
and people from Gianyar are shocked to see the sexes mingle in Badung while watching a show. In the same manner the people of Badung are disgusted because in Tabanan men and women [515]
bathe near together. It is rude to look into a public bath and even worse to enter it unless to bathe. Then the other bathers become figuratively invisible.

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562 become figuratively invisible. Great courtesy is shown even
576 among people who are intimate and it is extremely unusual for a man to "get fresh" with a girl in public; should it happen, the man would be severely punished. Thus a woman can confidently remain in her house while her male relatives are away at work, and a girl can go anywhere without fear of being approached by a stranger. Girls of high caste usually go chaperoned. Lovers are particularly careful not to show their emotions in public.

264 To neglect releasing a loud belch after a meal would be taken
576 by the host as a sign that the food was not satisfactory. In general the Balinese are very frank in actions that would be out of the question among us, such as clearing the throat, spitting, and so forth. These are perfectly normal actions no one needs to conceal.

576 But the key to Balinese etiquette among the castes consists in
564 the language spoken and in keeping at the proper level. Under
[191] no circumstance should a common man stand higher than an aristocrat. If a lowly person has to pass a nobleman who is sitting, he stoops in front of him until he is reasonably far away, and to address his superior he must squat or sit on the ground clasping his hands together in front of his chest or over his left shoulder. To retire, after begging leave, he walks backwards, stooping and holding his hands clasped.

LANGUAGE

191 When two strange Balinese meet, as for instance on the road,
564 they call each other as *djeró*, a safe, polite way of addressing
576 someone whose title is unknown. Since there are no outward signs of caste, the appropriate titles cannot be used and all the words for "you" (*tjaí, nyaí, nanî*) are extremely familiar and derogatory. Strangers talk in the middle language, a compromise between the daily speech and the polite tongue. Should, however, one be of low caste and the other a nobleman, it would be wrong for them to continue talking in this manner, and one of

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the two, probably the high-caste man, will ask the other: "*Antuh linggé?* Where is your place (caste)?" which is answered by the other man's stating his caste. Then the usual system is adopted; the low man speaks the high tongue and the aristocrat answers in the common language.

When I started to study Balinese I found it disturbing to hear the people around the house talking in the daily language and then suddenly shifting to high to address Gusti, our landlord-prince, who answered them in the common language. The high and low tongues are not two dialects or even variations of the same languages, but two distinct, unrelated languages with separate roots, different words, and extremely dissimilar character. It was always incongruous to hear an educated nobleman talking the harsh, guttural low tongue, while an ordinary peasant had to address him in the refined high Balinese.

The low language is the everyday tongue spoken by equals at home, at work, in the market. It is undoubtedly the native language of the island and belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian dialects, the aboriginal languages of the archipelago. The high language is similar to Javanese and is of Sanskrit-Javanese origin. It is flowery, and rich in shades of meaning; I have been told that to speak it well, one should know about ten different words to express the same idea. Few Balinese can speak the high language well, and the ordinary peasant generally ignores it, except perhaps for standard expression to address a superior. The peasant learned to listen only when he became a vassal of the Hindu-Javanese feudal lords, who had to learn the language of the island, but they demanded to be addressed in their own, high tongue by the unworthy natives. The natural politeness of the Balinese perhaps gave birth to the middle language, used when in doubt of a man's caste.

It is an important rule that one may not use high terms when speaking about oneself; it would be poor taste to call one's head by the elegant term *prabú*, instead of the common word *sirah*, or to refer to one's feet as *tiokor* instead of *batis*. It would be a

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dreadful insult to speak of someone's head as *tandas*, meaning the head of animals.

The type of language used in conversation is prescribed by one of the strict rules of caste etiquette, and the use of the wrong form is a serious offence. A prince has to be addressed as "highness" (*Ratú* or *Agung*), but he and the people of his caste talk to everybody in the low language, except perhaps to their parents, elder brothers, and members of the priestly caste, the Brahmanas. Polite people (not all high-born people are considered polite) are supposed to address old people in the high language.

There is still a fourth language, the Kawi, used on ritual occasions, in poetry and classic literature. It is archaic Javanese, in which nine out of ten words are Sanskrit; but the knowledge of Kawi rests almost entirely with the priests and scholarly Balinese.

The language problem of Bali has been further complicated by the addition of Malay, now officially the language of the Dutch East Indies. It is taught in the schools and is spreading rapidly among the Balinese youth because it is considerably simpler than the difficult Balinese and is free of the caste regulations. Thus a modern Balinese scholar would require five languages for social and cultural intercourse: the high, middle, and low Balinese, plus Kawi and Malay. Such a linguist is not rare today in Bali.

THE CASTES

The Hindu caste system as it is found today in Bali was not firmly implanted until after the conquest by the famous Gadja Mada. Then Hindu-Javanese rule was definitely established and the island was divided into vassal territories paying tribute to the local princes that were given control. The natives lived under a class system of their own long before that time, however. They had their ranks, with a sort of aristocracy that combined government and priesthood.

Hindu-Javanese penetration did not reach many of the remote mountain communities, which remained outside the feudal ter-

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301 [304] receive the large rolls of *lontar* leaf for everyday or their replicas of gold (*subang*) for feasts. The *subangs* are hollow conical cylinders of beaten gold three inches long by one in diameter, closed at one end, imitating in shape the palm-leaf *subang*. Only girls wear them and after marriage they consider the wearing of *subangs* a coquetry that is out of place, although married women of high caste may wear them at feasts. Rings of gold set with rubies are popular, but the most fashionable today are those set with an English gold guinea. Bracelets are in good taste only if made of gold and tortoise-shell set with rubies, star sapphires, or little diamonds.

515 The Balinese are as fastidious in the care of their bodies as they are about dress, and people of all classes, conditions permitting, make almost a cult of cleanliness. They bathe frequently during the day, whenever they feel hot or after strenuous work, but two baths a day are the rule, in the morning and evening, before each meal.

368 Many villages have formal baths with separate compartments for men and women, divided by carved stone walls and provided with water-spouts in the shape of fantastic animals, or simple natural pools or streams fitted with bamboo pipes and low walls.

515 Often the favourite bathing-place is a shallow spot in the river where men on one side, women on the other, squat on the water, remaining for a long time in animated conversation, scrubbing themselves with pumice stone that removes superfluous hair and invigorates the skin, or rubbing their backs with a rough stick or against a large stone placed there for the purpose. In a river near Gianyar we often saw a group of women sitting in the water in a circle, their feet radiating from the centre, gossiping until after dark.

515 576 There are strict rules of etiquette for bathing-places; for example, sexual parts should be concealed even among persons of the same sex. A man simply covers himself with one hand not to offend his fellow bathers. It would be unthinkable for a man to

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look deliberately at a nude woman although she may be bathing within sight of everybody in the irrigation ditch along the road. It is customary to give some indication of one's presence on approaching a public bath. Women wade into the water raising

their skirts to a respectable level, a little above the knee, and after considering the possibilities of the place sit suddenly in the water, quickly taking off the skirt. The process is reversed in getting out of the water: the skirt which has been lying on a stone or held in one hand, is gathered up in front of the bather and dropped like a curtain as she stands up. She wraps it around her hips and walks off without bothering to dry herself.

Besides the ordinary village bathing-places there are sacred pools and bath-houses, some of which have magic or curative

3: Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1953 OF7 Bali OF7

These offerings are the *matoeran*, the gifts, and distinguished from the *pesoe-pesoean* in that they are not specifically required of the members, but voluntary gifts. Each household may choose what offering to make up and send along to the gods, according to how prosperous the family feels at the time, and to what provisions are on hand. Here the pattern followed is the same as that the Balinese use when they go to visit the palace of a noble, the *grija* of a high priest, or the house of a friend to whom they wish to be polite. It would be unseemly to arrive empty-handed. They come to the temple bearing gifts, so that the gods may be well disposed towards them. Although there is no pressure put upon them to bring these offerings, in this village it is rare indeed for a household to omit sending one of the "voluntary" offerings at the time of the *odalan*, unless they are forbidden to do so on account of being unclean. Women who were born in this village but who, on their marriage, moved away to another, must of necessity offer in the temples of their husbands' villages. But they often return at the time of the *odalan* to give voluntary offerings in the temples of their fathers.

Here the great majority bring the offering called *adjoeman* (food): *telompokan* 2, *katjang-katjang* 2, *tanding, bé siap apaa, djadja begina barak poetih, tjanang genten* 2, *metatakan taledan* (2 rice patties, 2 portions of peanuts, a chicken thigh, red and white cakes, 2 trays of betel, all set out on a round tray).

Arrived at the temple, the offering is sprinkled with holy water, the officiants remove the two *tjanangs*, place them on the central shrine (*Pepelik*) at the feet of the gods, and the priest prays:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara, Ratoe Padoeka Betara sepian Padoeka Betara angatoerang sarining boerat wangi, lenga wangi, pingkalih joenan poetih koening.

Wong joerastoe ja nama soewaha.

Lord God, your servant offers you the essence of perfumed ointment, of perfumed oil, together with refreshment yellow-white.

May there be honor. Hail!

Reverence (Mebakti)

The people whose offerings have been dedicated kneel on the floor of the court (or if men, sit cross-legged, removing their head-cloths) and taking a flower between their finger tips make three times the obeisance (*mebakti*) to the gods. Then an assistant comes to them with a dipper of holy water (*banjoen tjokor*), sprinkles them three times, and pours out three times into their cupped hands a little of the water. They drink, they pass the water over their faces, and lastly over their hair. As group after group of worshippers are thus attended to, it would seem that the little bowl of holy water in which "the gods' feet were washed" in the morning would hardly suffice. But the bowl can be replenished again and

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He poured the libations with the formula:

Pakoeloen Padoeka Betara katoeran sarining sadjeng sari, sadjeng djamboel, sadjeng rateng, lenga wangi boerat wangi.

3:00 a.m. At three o'clock he placed the *tjanang* on the ground (*ngeloearang tjanang*) and made a last reverence to the gods. Then he lay down on one of the offering stands and went to sleep.

All the pavilions in the temple were crowded to overflowing with people — men, women, children, old people, and gay young blades, curled up on the floor of the buildings sound asleep, or sitting up in a valiant effort to keep awake on this the last of a series of wakeful nights. The gayest of all were the young people, the unmarried girls who had been dancing, and who were still dressed in their elaborate costumes, the flowers slightly awry in their hair, and the young men who had been playing the *gamelan*, and now continued to whang on the instruments in a desultory way. To these young people it seemed to be an occasion stimulating to the senses — for every one knows that it is forbidden to "play about" in the temple.[1] The boys followed with their eyes the more attractive girls, to see where they found a corner to wedge themselves in and lie down — hoping to maneuver for themselves a position not too far away. There was much good-natured calling back and forth of allusions, interrupting the voice of the *sinoman* as he read out the roll-call, to be sure that on this night every household was represented in the temple.

While the lamps burned brightly, and the voices called from one pavilion to the next, one by one they dropped off to sleep.

This spending the night in the temple is called *tangkil*, the word used for "coming into the presence of" a noble. One hears a young girl ask another, "Are you going to *tangkil* tonight?" The word *tangkil* also refers to the crouching position assumed by a person of lower caste in the presence of his superior to do him honor. Applying this term to spending the night in the temple therefore suggests that it is one more way of doing honor to the gods. On the night of the *odalan* proper and the night of *njimpen* (putting away) the entire group of representatives is supposed to remain, so that it is not necessary, as on the intervening nights and the nights preceding the *odalan*, to appoint watchmen.

Dawn of the Fourth Day (Njimpen, continued)

5:00 a.m. As soon as it began to be light, people started to call out, "There's already a brightness in the east. Get up! Get up!" (*Soeba galang kangin! Bangoen! Bangoen!*). The priest awoke, and asked the

[1] The fine is 500 képongs for sleeping next to a woman. The priest said that for actual misbehavior the penalty would be to take down the entire building and to carry the earth on which it stood down to be cast into the sea.

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

In the old style villages with dual organization, the chief buildings in the temple court are the long, beautifully proportioned *balé agoeng*, often a pair, parallel with each other, called right (*kiwa*) and left (*tengen*). Here the ceremonial seating and feast of the council of elders takes place. They are seated then in two long rows facing each other, according to rank (seniority), and "balancing" the two sides of the village. At times a second duality is introduced by having the ceremonial seating in the left hand *balé agoeng* at dark moon (*tilem*), in the right hand building at full moon (*poernama*). This duality theme may recur in contemporary ritual where it is not apparent in social organization.

Godly Representations. When we pass from these old style villages to the more usual type, we may find remains and reminders of this old organization. There may be a *balé agoeng* though the council of elders and the dual organization no longer exist. There may be a ceremonial "seating of elders," that is people who go into trance as a rule, spokesmen of the gods. The thing which carries through from this old style organization to the rituals of the more modern villages and those which have come under Hinduistic caste influence, is the ceremonial feast at which these old people take part *representing* the gods. The evidence of the godly presence is in the sacramental meal offered to the gods in their persons, the food which they do not eat and the rice wine which they pour out in libation on the ground. "If the gods are pleased, they will come down," say the Balinese. If trance occurs, those who speak with the voices of the gods give further evidence that communications between the living and the inhabitants of above (*ring locwoer*), deities and ancestral spirits of dead kings and their courts, are set up and maintained. The gods are to be propitiated, their protection invoked, their will to be done.

Balinese people the world above and the world in which they live with vast hordes of demons (*kala*), evil spirits (*tonja*), and witchlike spirits (*léjak*) who follow the gods about, come to the feast which is spread for the gods, and are likely to devour all the offerings prepared for the gods before the gods have a chance at them. For these demonic hordes special offerings are therefore made and set outside the temple on a temporary rough shrine or on the ground. The people describe these demons as the rough, uncouth servitors of the gods, who are sure to accompany them and to be extraordinarily hungry, just as such servitors would come accompanying a prince if he came on a visit.

The one power which can hold at bay these demonic hordes is the *Barong*, a holy masked figure of a lion or tiger, played by two men, who dances around the village and around the outside of the temple to protect it. As

4:Belo E-5 (1931-1939) 1949 OF7 Bali OF7

represent the firm. For the temple, certain offerings are customarily prepared by men, others by women. But the work is shared out according to households; and if during the preparatory days the man is busy working in the rice fields, his wife may represent his household at the temple, or if she is busy at home, he may go in her stead. All the working of the village life is built up out of these household units, and it is for this reason almost unthinkable to remain unmarried. Bachelors and old maids are practically unknown.

When a child is born no special point is made as to whether it is a male or a female. It is like a little god, newly come from the heaven of the gods, perhaps an ancestor returned to earth. At three months it is taken for the first time to the temple to make its obeisance at the shrine of the Recorder of Births. From this time until the time of its losing its first teeth (*meketoes*), the child has a status of maximum innocence and purity; it is the nearest thing to a god which man may know. It is made much of and adored by both parents, whether it be male or female. After the age of six, the difference in occupation begins to effect a certain typing according to sex which was not evident up to that time. Little boys do herding of ducks and cattle in the fields, while little girls carry water and help their mothers in the household tasks.

When they begin to wear clothes, the *kamben* worn by boys and girls is almost identical, and, even among adult men and women, the difference between men's dress and women's dress is only a slight difference in the tying of the cloth or in the length to which it falls below the knee. Up until the last generation both men and women had long hair, and even today most priests still wear their hair long. In physical type, too, there is little difference between males and females. Both are slender and have relatively wide shoulders and narrow hips, a strong straight back, erect carriage, smooth muscles, and a smooth skin practically without body hair. The men have no beard, and their features do not differ markedly from the women's. It is not at all unusual to mistake a man for a woman, or a woman for a man, even at a few paces' distance.

This merging and indeterminacy of the sexes is to some extent offset by certain rules of behavior. For example, a man sits crosslegged, while a woman sits with both legs to one side. Or a man climbs coconut trees, a woman weaves. Thus, if it is impossible to tell whether a figure is male or female by looking at it, one may be able to tell by the way it is sitting or by what it is doing. And when we find, as we occasionally do, individuals who wish to be of the opposite sex, it is precisely by doing such things as climbing coconut trees or weaving that they express this wish.

7: Belo E-5 (1931-1935) 1936 OF7 Bali OF7

Rendah has one wife, Rieh, who has borne him nine children. Three of these died in infancy. His eldest, a girl, he has just given in marriage to her paternal parallel second cousin, the eldest son of Gari, Rendah's own paternal parallel cousin (fig. 1, I). This girl, Tingglih, has "followed her husband," and now lives across the street in the house of her father-in-law Gari. Only five children remain in Rendah's house.

Rendah himself was one of eight children, also borne to his father by one wife (fig. 2, II). The children, in the order of their birth, receive title-names, as follows:

Wajan—First-born
Madé—Second-born
Njoman—Third-born
Ketoet—Fourth-born.

If there are more than four children the series begins over again, and the fifth child is Wajan, the sixth Madé, etc. Every djabā must have one of these title-names, which precedes his given name. The given name is chosen by a system of divination through fire, from a group of names suitable to a child born on a certain day of the astrological calendar. It is rarely used, except to children and to inferiors in age and in social status. To use the title-name is always more polite, and compulsory for inferiors in age and in social status. Thus Rendah, although he is the eldest son, was the fourth-born of his family. He is called Ketoet by his equals, or I Ketoet Rendah when they are speaking about him, to distinguish him from other Ketoets. After the birth of his first child he is called 'Pan Tingglih,[1] father of Ting-

[1] 'Pan is the abbreviation of bapan, from bapā, father, with the possessive -n. In certain mountain districts the old word 'nang, shortened from nanang, father, is used. Similarly bibi for mother or aunt, is sometimes found instead of the usual mémé. On the island of Noesā Penidā, belonging to Bali but with a distinctive dialect, bibi and bébé are in use for mother and aunt as well as mémé, and maman for paternal or maternal uncle, reserving nanang for the biological father. In Balinese classical literature paman is used for uncle and as a familiar form of address to older men (as a young prince speaking to his father's minister). In Malay paman may be used in the latter way, though its original meaning is maternal uncle. Iboe, mother, and jajah or adji, father, occur also in the literature. Iboe and adji are current high Balinese, and biang, mother, is found among high-caste people used as a title-name. Keramā is another old form for mother, found in the texts. Kaki, grandfather, appears in the literature more often than the current pekak. Nini and néné, old forms for grandmother, are rarely found outside the texts. Nini is still in use as the name for the rice-goddess of the harvest ritual, although apparently not universally known.

Koeranan is used for both husband and wife. The words moewani, male, and loeh, female, are commonly substituted in low Balinese for husband and wife. In high Balinese they are lanang, male, and istri, female; istri has come to have a more definite meaning of wife, although high-caste Balinese have many different words, as rabi, wife, prami swari, consort (of

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857 consciousness of position in space develops naturally together with
858 the use of language, and the words "kadja," "kelod," "koaeh," and
823 "kangin" are frequently heard in the chatter of the four and five year olds. When such a group was making drawings at my house, they arranged between them which was to have the South wall, which the East, and so on.

823 Every Balinese sleeps with his head either to the North (in
513 North Bali, South; see footnote, p. 2) or to the East. He may not even lie down for a moment in the opposite direction, for the feet are dirty and may not be put in the place of the head. To lie in the reversed position is said to be "lying like a dead man," although the
[764] Balinese in South Bali are not buried with their heads to the South. The implication is that only a dead man, who could not help himself, would lie in this dangerously wrong way.

Sense of Social Orientation

829 By imitation of their elders the children soon learn also on which
576 "level" they should sit at formal gatherings. Within the courtyard
342 of the Balinese house are a number of pavilions, each on a foundation
867 of sandstone varying in height from two to four feet. On the platforms so formed are couches of bamboo, constructed between the pillars which support the roof. It is customary to sit either upon the clay floor of the foundation-platform or on the couches, which also may vary in height. Thus are provided a hierarchy of sitting-places, whose relative height may be easily ascertained, as the pavilions are without walls.

593 In family groups no particular attention is paid to the arrange-
576 ment of levels, and a little girl does not have to stop to think whether
574 or not she is sitting higher than grandfather. But on the advent of a visitor, especially if he be of higher caste than the family of the host, politeness requires that he be given the highest place. At a
[585] wedding which I attended of a young man of noble birth, a nephew of the Radja, or Regent of the district, the most formal rules were observed in the seating of the guests. On the floor of the highest
793 pavilion sat the High Priests. On a near-by lower pavilion sat the
594 men of rank, and across the court on a still lower pavilion, the women
554 of the family, also of noble birth. Some chairs were provided for
565 the male guests of the "advanced" type, but these were avoided by the more humble members of the group. Even those seated on chairs
[516] were on a level inferior to that where the High Priests sat, cross-legged on the floor.

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legged on the floor. Servants and retainers, people of low caste, came and went through the court. Other pavilions for their use were provided in a rear court, where they would eventually receive a share of the feast; but if any man wished to be seated in the court of honor, he might, after making a reverence with joined hands, squat down on the ground anywhere without fear of offending his social superiors. When all were assembled, the Radja appeared. He marched across the courtyard, mounted the steps of the pavilion where the High Priests sat, and seated himself crosslegged on the bamboo couch which formed the highest level within the court.

The Place of the Children

On occasions such as this when the strictest etiquette must be observed the children are not much in evidence, so quiet are they, so intent on watching their elders and imitating their behavior. Small babies may be present, but they are not heard to cry, for at the first whimper they are given the breast of the mother. This applies to children up to two and three years old, provided no younger brother or sister has taken their place. Aunts, cousins, and elder sisters (from the age of eight or nine) habitually carry or hold children of this age. But it is not customary for a woman other than the mother to suckle the child. A youngster may scuttle across the intervening space which divides the women from the men, scramble into its father's lap, and sit there quiet and solemn-eyed. This is not in the least embarrassing to the fathers, who are extremely affectionate and proud to show off their young. It is not unusual to see a player in the gamelan orchestra holding on his knees for two or three hours his small child, while he reaches around it, beating the keys of his resounding instrument.

As the children grow older, the boys tend to clan together in groups of their own age, whereas the girls stay more closely beside their mothers. One often sees a gang of small boys playing in the village street, flying kites made of a leaf, or a captive dragon-fly, or playing "jacks" or gambling games with pebbles. In contrast to their elders, they do run, skip, and tumble, but rarely does the play take a rough turn. Quarrels consist of brusque words and threatening gestures on the part of the stronger child, while the weaker immediately assumes an attitude of submission, or, if he is struck, utters the plaintive "ado!," equivalent to our "ouch!" The utterance

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ten or fifteen miles to train their dancers. The fact of her growing up was forcibly impressed upon her by the change in her social function. She began to behave with dignity: to carry herself decorously, to sit down carefully with both legs to one side, not sprawling anywhere, to speak when she was spoken to, to keep upon her face an habitual expression of composure. As she learned manners, she lost a great deal of the vivid spontaneous charm of her personality. But in restraining her wild ways, she acquired a new charm, that of a demure and gracious feminine creature. When still another year had passed (which would make her about fourteen or fifteen), I saw her dance again, demonstrating before a new pupil. By this time the restraint in her bearing had become natural to her, and the change was strangely reflected in her dancing. She went through the dance in which she had so excelled as a child, without the slightest deviation from the traditional motions, postures, and step-figures which she had always used—and yet the whole flavor of the dance was different. Instead of the wiry, electric little body whose stick-like arms bent in sharp angles, accenting the beat of the music, whose fingers quivered in the classical hand positions, whose little head sat stiffly on a rigid neck, whose feet stamped out with tense exactitude the vibrant music—instead of this stylized, puppet-like figure was a woman, with rounded arms, and hands of classical perfection, on her face a blank composure almost beautiful, who moved forward sedately, or glided sideways with easy grace, her curves softening the intended angles of the postures. This smooth performance of an accomplished dancer, now grown to maturity, had a beauty of its own. But it was not *lègong* dancing as it should be. Seeing it, one could not help agreeing with the Balinese, who say that only children can dance *lègong*. For the very grace and womanliness of a bigger girl infuse a disturbing element into the dance, which is in its essence sexless, impersonal, acute, and pure in its stylization.

Tjamploen still laughs, and makes jokes, and her eyes snap with merriment. But her rôle has changed from that of a talented child to that of an unwed maiden, whose behavior shows modesty and restraint, for those are the qualities which will attract a desirable husband.

Etiquette in Speech, Posture, and Manners

I have tried to give a suggestion of the strict order in the behavior of the Balinese people, and how this order is dictated by their

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576 way of life, their social and religious concepts, which hold them to a rigid pattern of what is fitting. In the use of language, as in other 576 matters, definite and complex rules must be followed. The Balinese 191 language, rich in terms with minutely differentiated meanings, is 564 also stratified into words of all levels, which may be roughly subdivided into High and Low Balinese. Low Balinese is the familiar and current language, used between members of a family and to all friends and intimates, except when there is a disparity of caste between the speakers. A man of low caste must address his social superior in High Balinese, and he will be answered in Low. The matter is further complicated when a man of intermediate caste is being discussed, for the commoner must choose a word in referring to him neither so low as to be insulting to the ears of the noble he is addressing, nor so high as to be discourteous, for the very highest words should be reserved for reference to the noble himself.[6] Special words are to be used only in reference to animals, and to apply one of these lowest words to a man constitutes an unforgiveable insult. Strangers who meet address each other in High Balinese, asking "Whence do you come? Where are you going?," and follow this immediately with a leading question designed to discover the rank of the interlocutor, so that the language appropriate to him may be at once adopted. There is no "farewell" in the language. Visitors must ask their host's permission to depart, and the answer to this request may be either the common "yes," a dismissal, or a choice of a polite word for "go," carrying a courteous inflection because of the relative highness of the word used.

576 Less complex, but equally rigid, rules prescribe the actual way of 516 sitting. Both men and women habitually squat on their heels, and this is the position most readily assumed when anyone stops for a moment what he is doing, either for conversation or for a short rest from hard labor (and it may be noted in passing that the Balinese [461] seem to take, automatically, a rest of five or ten minutes out of every hour of hard work; look at any ten men at work in the sun, and two will be sitting under a tree; half an hour later, two others will be resting). The squatting position may also be held over long periods, in the fulfillment of any task conveniently done on or near the ground, such as the playing of certain musical instruments, or the chopping and hashing of foodstuffs on a wooden block, in prepara-

[171] [6] It is as if we were to choose between the expressions "he has eaten," "he has dined," and "he has partaken of his repast."

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tion for a feast. In taking the position the Balinese, be he a man of eighty or a child of eight, lowers himself with the back held straight, at the same time pulling the loin-cloth with his two hands tight over the thighs, so that the folds will not hang and expose him indecently. Women are of course, equally modest, and the little girls learn this trick earlier than the boys, for they are generally given a strip of cloth to wrap around them at the age of four or five, whereas the boys run naked several years longer.

Women sit with their legs bent back from the knees, both legs to one side. They may not take the crosslegged position which is proper for the men. A high priest, who has a right to the place of honor, will on entering a European house choose not the most softly cushioned, but the highest chair, and he will cross his legs upon the seat of it. Certain ascetics of noble caste, who have bound themselves to strict rules of behavior, may not sit down to eat facing in any direction except North or East. In the palaces of the nobility men of humble rank may sit or squat, but they are not allowed to stand or walk while a prince is seated. When they have to move about, fulfilling orders, they advance in a half-crouching position. So strongly felt is the matter of relative height that a man may ask one's permission before venturing to climb up a coconut tree to bring one refreshment.

The Balinese prefer to eat alone, and it is forbidden to speak to anyone who is eating. To speak to him would anger the god that is in him.[7] In some villages there used to be a fine imposed on any man who entered another's house and disturbed him while he was eating. Of this fine part was paid directly to the affronted person, part to the community, in compensation for disturbing the peace. Within the household there is no sitting down to a family meal. Each member takes his leaf-plate of rice at his own pleasure, carrying it off into a corner, often turning his back on his friends and relatives.[8] It is only proper to take food in the right hand while eating, although of course both hands are used in the preparation of it. Along the roads, at the markets, and at all performances are little stalls where refreshments are sold. But I have known several Balinese who said it was improper to eat in the street, and that they were "too ashamed" to do it.

[7] Here again, indigestion as a disturbance of bodily well-being is to be feared and avoided.

[8] In my own house I often surprised a boy or girl crouching alone in a dark cupboard absorbing the allotted plateful of rice, while a merry group who were not at the moment eating sat chatting without.

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The feeling of modesty—no other words seems to apply—attached to eating does not apply to drinking, and anyone will drink anywhere, without making a fuss about it. Similarly no shame is felt for urinating, which is done by both men and women along the public roads, in the open fields, anywhere except within the housecourt or on holy ground. But for defecating the people retire to relative privacy, "where the pigs are," out of sight. The many pigs and dogs act as scavengers, and may be relied upon to do away with all the filth.

Where there are gushing springs, bathing places are constructed, with walls dividing off the place of the women from that of the men. When the rivers are used for bathing, the sexes divide into groups, the men taking the upstream position, the women the downstream. But within each group modesty is shown, and the genitals may not be exposed even to a member of the same sex. The men cover themselves with one hand, the women lift their skirts gradually, and suddenly plunge waist deep in the water. Dressing and undressing may be done in public by both men and women, for their clothes are of such a nature that they can be changed without immodesty.[9]

Manifestations of the Emotional Life

The Balinese are universally afraid in the dark, and the fear of *léjaks,* living male and female sorcerers in supernatural form, is intensified between the hours of midnight and dawn, when these creatures are supposed to roam. Even grown boys and men will not visit at night unholy places such as the graveyard, the crossroads, certain trees and bridges where supernatural manifestations are frequent. They are afraid to walk along the dark village streets at night, unless accompanied, but if a man must go alone he sings in a loud voice to frighten away the *léjaks,* or to keep his spirits up. His housecourt is his haven. The encircling clay walls, the high ceremonial entrance gate, and the magic strip of wall immediately within this gate (to block the path of evil spirits) give him a feeling a security, sleeping upon the open pavilions. But he prefers not to sleep alone. If he has passed the age when he wishes to sleep next his wife, he will take one or two of his little sons to bed with him. Small children sleep with their parents, grandparents, or huddle in a group together.

[9] For the breasts, of course, the women show no modesty at all. It is only the region from the knees to the waist which must never be exposed. The Balinese feel about exposure of the thighs of women as Westerners feel about their breasts, and a woman in a Western bathing suit is extremely shocking to them for that reason.

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B1 [410 cont.]
564 title for Wesja is gusti, for the women gusti aju. The sovereigns,
643 however, are called hanak agung or anak agung = exalted, distinguished, or great person.

B1 [411] The caste of the Sudra is the one of the common
564 people. They are entirely subject to the higher castes, so much
198 so that the latter deal with their possessions as they please.
●576 Moreover, there is a difference in language between the three higher castes and the Sudra. The former address the latter in the vulgar language (basa sogol, basa dĕgag, basa djaba), whereas the lowest caste speaks to the higher ones in the high language (basa bakti, basa puri), which the higher castes speak to one another.

B1 One can be reduced from a higher caste to a lower one
558 for wrongdoing. Also, after a war the vanquished are sometimes
681 dealt with in this way. Meanwhile, it seems that the caste dif-
727 ference here is gradually beginning to fade.
177

B1 The tjĕndĕlă = unfortunates, outcastes, form a separate
564 group which is made up of persons suffering from incurable
164 diseases, especially leprosy, and are banished from society, re-
558 gardless of the caste to which they belong. They drag out a miserable existence in some isolated place.

d. Sumatra

S
M1 Where royal rule exists on Sumatra, one finds a quite
643 marked division into two standings, the nobility and burgher
565 standing. We shall give a few examples, beginning with Palembang. Formerly Palembang formed a state of this name with a sultan at the head, which fell when the sultan was removed on August 9, 1825. The distinction that existed between the nobility and the common class at the time of the sultan's rule continued, however. To the former belonged first of all the
M1 descendants of the sultan, the prijaji, with the title of pangéran,
S
[651 radĕn, or other Javanese noble names, depending on their closer
642] or more distant relationship with the sovereign. The prijaji at

12: Haar S-4 (1939) 1948 OBI Indonesia OBI
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by sections of families, the community and village remain the basis of mutual aid.

C. ASSOCIATIONS

1. *Cooperative societies.*—We now come to grips with a different principle, whereby persons break loose from the ordinary communal area within which mutual aid is given. Groups, which have the tendency of acting as independent units in intervillage relations, are formed with an eye to reciprocal exchange of services and goods. The more villages or other communities tend to be lax in communal endeavor, and the more individuals wish to range beyond the village in their activities, the more does the tendency to form associations assert itself. There are frequently special interests, which are met in a variety of forms of associational cooperation.

A specimen of this is the technique of loaning money called *bwe*, a form of credit union apparently borrowed from the Chinese. A number of persons pay in a definite sum each month, and each of them may use the total amount in turn ("sarikat" in Batavia, "jula jula" in Minangkabau, "mohaqka" on the island of Salayar). The associations for the slaughter of water-buffalo among the Atjeh are another example. So are the so-called burial societies that are widely distributed all over Java.

The Minahasans speak of "mapalus" societies. This word has two meanings. It refers to reciprocal assistance and to various groups formed for such purposes as cooperative aid in agriculture. This agricultural service is not only rendered to each other by the members in reciprocity, but can also be extended to outsiders for pay. Credit unions are known as "mapalus wang."

The best-known and most developed form of independent associations are those of Bali, whose interests are commercial. The Balinese "sakaha" may have two meanings, just as "mapalus" in Minahasa. It can apply to a group, which has certain primary functions to fulfill within the village and which may in addition, sometimes but by no means always, attain a degree of independence as a "society," such as the "banjar," or youths' association. Or, it can apply to an association voluntarily established outside of the desa connection for digging tunnels, harvesting fields, loaning money and giving musical performances.

We have previously noted (p. 71) the famous irrigation communities (the "subak" of Bali) with their economic basis in the possession of land and with their more or less public character.